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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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The Western Federation of Miners

A CRITICISM AND A DEFENSE

L

In the year 1893, in the city of Butte, Montana, the Western Federation of Miners was launched as a national organization, with the avowed purpose, as expressed in its motto, of "Education, organization, independence." Had the Federation's motto been lived up to from the start, many of the sad experiences of a decade might have been spared the Western labor movement. But the kind of education its members received was not an education in the theoretical knowledge of the class struggle, together with the practical recognition of that struggle in its industrial conflicts. On the contrary, the Federation's education was derived from a succession of bitter defeats on the economic field; from blind encounters with capitalist courts and militias; from the horrors of bulk pens; from deportations and wrecked unions. Its form of organization made the Federation a sort of caricature of industrial unionism, while its spirit and methods, a reflex of that organized form, showed it to be essentially a pure and simple affair. Without adequate provision for educating its membership in the theoretic understanding of their class interests, and in its organization lacking the essentials for unity and coherence, the Western Federation of Miners may well serve as a warning to the American Labor Movement.

Not the least of the tasks of the new industrial union that it is hoped the June 27th convention will launch, will be the task of bringing about "working class unity" among its original components. Among the many constituents of the American Labor Union, which has agreed by referendum to join the new organization, there are varying degrees of ripeness. Some of the American Labor Union organizations are doubtless ready for the changes called for by the Manifesto, while others are in an undeveloped state and will require much nurture and discipline to put them on the ground of the class struggle and keep them there. In the Western Federation of Miners, such unions, for example, as the Butte Mill and Smeltermen's, No. 74, are undoubtedly ripe enough to catch the spirit and purpose of industrial unionism. The ripeness in this case is largely due to the fact that the Smeltermen's Union several years ago set apart five per cent. of its receipts from dues to be used as an educational fund, and since that time its members have been receiving some of the best and most instructive literature of the labor movement. On the other hand, the big Butte Miners' Union, No. 1, is the veritable "white elephant" of the Federation, and presents a most serious problem for industrial unionism. Organized in 1878, and in point of numbers and resources the largest in the Western Federation of Miners, this union remains practically in the same pure and simple state in which it was founded. The preamble to the Butte Miners' Union is a strange document, reading like an echo from a past industrial stage:

"Whereas, in view of the fearfully hazardous nature of our vocation, premature old age, and many ills the result of our unnatural toil; and whereas, a society which will enable the miner to be his own benefactor WOULD ALSO RELIEVE THE CORPORATIONS OF BUTTE; and whereas, it is profitable to retain skilled and experienced labor when its demand is significant in proportion to the benefits to be derived from its use; and whereas, we should cultivate an acquaintance with our fellows in order that they may be the better enabled to form an undivided opposition to acts of injustice; therefore, we, the miners of Butte, have resolved to form an association for the promotion and protection of our common interests, and have adopted the annexed constitution and by-laws for its guidance, for united we possess strength. Let us then 'Act justly, and fear not.'

Capitals are mine. The clause thus emphasized, lends color to an alleged assertion of the late Marcus Daly, pioneer "copper king" of Montana. When asked his attitude regarding labor unions, Mr. Daly is reported to have said that he would not permit the Butte Miners' union to live a day if it did not relieve him of many and varied financial obligations referring, of course, to the care of the sick and crippled from his mines, the burial of miners killed therein, or of

those dying from that dread scourge, miners' consumption, as well as numerous damage suits that might grow out of "unavoidable" accidents and deaths in the mines. The extent of that "relief" which Marcus Daly had in mind, may be inferred from a few facts and statistics of accidents and mortality in the Butte mines. Deputy State Inspector J. J. Barry reports 36 fatal and 13 non-fatal accidents in the Butte mines in 1904. But that is not all. The state mine inspector, in his report for the same year, speaking of the fact that there is no specific statute in Montana governing the sanitary conditions of mines, adds:

"In the Butte mines conditions have become so bad in a sanitary way that a reference to the statistics of mortality in that city will show that at least 100 per cent. more men die from diseases caused by bad sanitary conditions in the mines than result from all mine disasters. A very considerable number of the underground workers in Butte are most seriously affected with lung and throat diseases brought on and caused by the unhealthy and unsanitary conditions under which they are obliged to perform their daily duties. Absolutely no provision is made for protecting the health of these men in a sanitary way."

Confirmatory evidence comes also from the president of the Associated Charities, another organization that is assisting the Butte Miners' Union to "relieve the corporations." From an appeal for funds sent out last winter, and signed by Mrs. Alice Roach, President, I take the following passage:

"The treasury has reached a point of depletion that causes alarm. With the cold weather just beginning innumerable calls are made on the treasury by helpless widows and children of men who have been injured or killed in the mines, or of those who died after long illness with miners' consumption, and the deserted wives left destitute and helpless with young children, often infants. That they may be cared for, the Associated Charities must ask for assistance. Everyone in Butte knows the prevalence of miners' consumption."

In view of the above facts, it may be asked where the first part of the clause of the preamble comes in, that is, how the union has "enabled the miner to be his own benefactor"? Certainly that union has "relieved the corporations of Butte"; how has it assisted the miners to improve their condition or to "form an undivided opposition to acts of injustice" on the part of their employers?

Briefly stated, the mining situation in Butte has always been that of two rival "copper kings" competing with one another for political and economic power. Formerly it was Marcus Daly and W. A. Clark, and the miners were kept divided along the lines of nationality, Daly catering to the Irish and Clark to the English. To-day it is J. D. Rockefeller and F. A. Heinze, or the Amalgamated Copper Co. and the United Copper Co. Nationalities no longer divide the workers—the trick is now done to the tune of the "trust" and the "anti-trust". Heinze poses as the foe of the "trust" and the friend of workingmen; he is moreover a genius in the art of fooling the people, and has the advantage of being constantly on the scene to direct operations. The people of Butte look upon Heinze as a "protector" against Standard Oil aggression. Mostly as a result of this competition between rival corporations, wages of miners have been kept from falling, and an occasional "sop" in the form of an eight hour, or some other "labor law" has been thrown out to quiet the workers.

In the mines, however, absolutely no protection is afforded the workers against "acts of injustice". A complete system of espionage prevails therein, and the fear of the "spotter" puts the seal of terror on the lip and the look of distrust in the eye of every miner. Scores of "rustlers" throng the mines three times a day the year round, ready to take the places of those who, for some reason, cannot keep pace with the mad rush for profits. By means of this reserve army and the spy system, the miner is kept in constant terror for his job, and readily submits to whatever conditions the capitalist sees fit to impose upon him. Unsanitary mines, defective timbering, due to the rush of getting out ore, unprotected chutes and manways, leading to accidents—swell the statistics of mortality and add to the list of maim-

ed and crippled with monotonous regularity, while coroner's juries, "composed of miners," invariably return the verdict of "unavoidable accident."

What is the Butte Miners' Union doing all the while? "Relieving the corporations" of the inevitable consequences of such conditions—of possible damage suits, of funeral expenses and hospital fees! That this union is powerless to protect its members was shown in the case of the switchmen's strike in Butte two years ago. In September, 1903, the switchmen and trainmen on the B. A. & P., working in the yards around the mines, struck for the reinstatement of one of their number, a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Switchmen, discharged for presenting certain demands of the switchmen to the company. To protect the strike breakers and the company's property against the men on strike, miners, with union cards in their pockets, were called out of the mines, armed with pick handles, and compelled by the company to patrol the tracks until the strike was broken and the switchmen's union "smashed". The Butte Miners' union not only failed to discipline its members for thus assisting strike breakers to take the places of their fellow workers, but the union likewise offered no protest against the company's forcing union men to do the work of scabs.

Both Heinze and the Amalgamated are "friends of the Butte Miners' Union," so long as that body confines itself to its original purpose of "relieving the corporations." Each is willing to assist the union to collect dues for such purposes by discharging miners who refuse to pay dues. But neither Heinze nor the Amalgamated will tolerate interference by that union with internal conditions of their mines. Nor does the union attempt to interfere.

Engineered by "company suckers," deserted by the rank and file, who do not attend its meetings and only pay dues from compulsion—the Butte Miners' Union presents a spectacle of impotence that is pathetic and disheartening in view of the systematic, highly organized and terribly effective capitalist machine arrayed against it.

What will the coming industrial union do with an organization like this? This question suggests another: What will the new industrial union do with the Western Federation of Miners? A fountain cannot rise higher than its source. The Butte Miners' Union has been dominated by its friends the "backbone of the Federation." Will the June 27th convention break that backbone?

B. H. Williams.
Butte, Mont.

II.

On March 28 an article written by Mr. Walter Wellman, was published in the Salt Lake Telegram, condemning the Western Federation officers, Wm D. Haywood and Charles Moyer, for having raised or tried to raise, an immense sum of money by starting the strike in Colorado. They were to follow Mr. Mitchell's example in the Pennsylvania strike.

This article also stated that Haywood said to Mr. Wellman, "If Mitchell could do so, why can't we do the same?" The article claimed that the Western Federation of Miners is an organization composed of Socialists and radicals, and that the secret concerning the origin of the Colorado strike was as black and ugly a story, as one would care to read of men who are presumably respectable. The article concluded by saying, that the members of the American Federation of Labor had found out that by giving help to the Western Federation of Miners, they were only nursing a viper.

The following is an answer by a member of the Western Federation of Miners, who is also a member in good standing of the United Mine Workers of America; the organization of which Mr. John Mitchell is president—the great man with the "million"?

I wish to say in answer to Mr. Wellman:

- That, we have a true report from our officers in the Western Federation of Miners, and an itemized statement of our expenditures.
- That it is not Haywood or Moyer that controls the Western Federation of Miners, but the majority of its members.
- That this organization is composed

(Continued on page 3.)

CHEERING CONDITIONS

FOR THE SPREAD OF GENUINE SOCIALISM IN THE BADGER STATE.

Berger - Opportunism Helps to Bring Home the Correctness of Socialist Labor Party Charges, Principles and Tactics, With Good Results—Biggest Meeting Ever.

[Special Correspondence.]

Milwaukee, Wis., May 6.—Things are looking very favorable for the Socialist Labor Party in Wisconsin. Circumstances in the Social Democratic party throughout the Badger State show that the Socialist Labor Party has a fertile field to work: to explain and promote the inevitable process of social evolution. The seeds we have sown were sometimes scattered by the wind and did not mature; sometimes the fruit of our efforts was taken away by birds of prey or fell upon rocks where it could not thrive, the broad heavy wheels of the wagon of stupidity and ignorance crushed many a seed. Was it a wonder, then, considering the opposition we had to meet, and the mountains of hardships and difficulty we had to combat, that we did not grow faster—yea, that we have made the progress under such difficult circumstances that we did?

It must be borne in mind that right here in Milwaukee is centered the very power that has spent more energy, has blackguarded the Socialist Labor Party far more than some capitalist sheets could have done, namely, Berger's "Wahrheit" and "Social Democratic Herald." But now that the Social Democrats have fallen by the wayside—have openly supported candidates of capitalist parties—they have lost the last pretense that heretofore has shielded their wrongdoings. The party of which Victor Berger so proudly claims to be the leader is, as we have said long ago—and present happenings have shown this—nothing more than an advanced form of Populism. Robert Schilling, the former leader of the Populists, used to the same thing Berger does at the present time, that is, flirt with other parties. But Robert Schilling never claimed more than he was and promised no more than he could fulfill. He was generally thought to be an honest man, who simply did not have a clearer view upon the world of politics and economics. Schilling was swept away. His place was taken by Berger, who, however, claimed more than he is and even promises more than he can fulfill. Robert Schilling had his day, so will Victor Berger have his.

The opposition which the Socialist Labor Party has encountered has been gradually giving away to interest and sympathy in our principles. A desire to study our tactics and principles has been aroused. This was one of the chief obstacles to overcome and we have succeeded.

To cite a few facts to illustrate: At our special meeting held on Saturday, April 22, at the party's headquarters there was present the greatest crowd that has ever gathered at our headquarters. The Chicago conference to be held in the month of June was the topic of discussion. Among the speakers who took part in the discussion was Sims, the only Negro Socialist representative to the Central Committee of the Social Democratic party. Sims said that he was in favor of the policy and principles of the Socialist Labor Party, and that he keeps a great many Socialist papers, but that The People is the best of all. There was also present at that meeting, Comrade Lahm, a former member of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic party, and a faithful worker for the cause of Socialism, who resigned not very long ago from the Social Democratic party, simply because the tactics of Berger had become disgusting to him.

Many another incident could be cited to show that persons, once active workers for the Social Democracy, and others who had all kinds of prejudice against the Socialist Labor Party, are coming over to our side.

Comrade Frank Wilke has been elected by Section Milwaukee as the Milwaukee Socialist Labor Party representative to the Chicago Industrial Conference. It was decided at the meeting held on April 22 that Section Milwaukee should be represented at said conference and that our representative should work for the best interest of the So-

cialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

A grand May Day demonstration was held on Sunday, April 30, at the Freie Gemeinde Hall. Many were present, and stayed till dancing was over. The speeches all dwelt on the significance of May Day. The English speaker was Comrade Frank Wilke; Comrade Minckley spoke in German, and Comrade Loewes in Hungarian. The Socialist Liedertafel rendered several songs.

The Hungarian comrades will give a May ball on May 13 at the Deutscher Maennerchor Hall, Eighth and State streets.

H. B.

BEING EXPLANATORY

OF THE CHICAGO MANIFESTO AND SOME OTHER THINGS.

Ch. II.

By Frank Bohn.

When a few days ago I picked up a copy of the April number of the International Socialist Review, and read the editor's "reply" to my comments on the Chicago Manifesto, and his four pages of snarling and snapping at the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, I was surprised but not astounded, as were some of the members of the Party and of the Alliance. It should be recalled that in the first editorial following the publication of the Chicago Manifesto, pardon was begged of the American Federation of Labor wing of the "Socialist" party. In the second, Robert Rives Lamonte's contribution was made the occasion of an attempt to slander the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and incidentally take a thrust at Lamonte for daring to suggest that the industrial unionist movement might be a basis for Socialist unity. The third comes as a matter of sequence. The May number ought to contain something interesting, if in the meantime, the editor does not explode contracts for loading vessels.

Between 1,400 and 1,500 men are involved, and now the Lumber-handlers' union refuses to load any lumber on any of the firm's boats. As soon as the strike commenced in Seattle a sweeping injunction was granted the firm and against the union, prohibiting them from doing pretty nearly anything; a modified one was issued in Tacoma. The firm has had plenty of strike breakers, such as they are. The work is so strenuous that it takes a husky and strong man to survive under the terrific strain imposed upon him.

Most of the strike breakers work for a few days and then quit, not being able to stand the pace. As a result the firm is having a hard time to keep from drowning on account of their being of the small fry.

The barbers here will probably go out on Decoration Day, and the Brewers threaten to go out to-day.

W. A. Herron.

ASSASSINATION NEXT?

The officers of the Gompers American Federation of Labor Unions are in sore straits. Hit on all sides by the onward march of the spirit of progressive unionism and discerning that their work in the interests of the capitalists will soon be at an end if they don't do something, they are now resorting to fistcuffs in this city to silence the advocates of bona fide labor unionism. An incident proving this assertion occurred last week.

Alexander Lupovitz, a member of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, Waiters' Alliance, an ardent worker for his union and a foe to the labor fakirs, was walking down Sixth avenue Tuesday on his way to work. At Forty-first street he was accosted by a Mr. Powers, delegate of the American Federation of Labor's Waiters' Union" to the Central Fakir Union.

Powers walked up to Lupovitz and surly demanded to know what he (Lupovitz) meant by exposing him (Powers) and his cronies. Before Lupovitz could utter a word Powers swung his arm around, striking Lupovitz on the jaw with his fist. After striking Lupovitz and before the latter had time to recover himself, Powers took to his heels and ran down Forty-first street towards Seventh avenue. Lupovitz gave chase, but just as he was nearing the corner Powers jumped on a passing car and escaped.

The labor fakirs will find that fistcuffs and even assassination will not prevent progressive unionism from sweeping the allies of the capitalist aside and teaching the workers where their interests lie.

PENNSYLVANIA S. E. C.

Meeting of April 18. Muller chairman. All present except Trescek. Minutes of previous meeting approved.

Correspondence: From Section Bradock, \$37.80, and Section Scranton, \$7. For N. A. F. From Bock, McAllaney and Hinkel, dues. From Seidel, effects of former N. E. C. committeeeman.

Receipts, \$63.42; expenses, \$1.56.

Adjourned. James Erwin, Sec'y.

N. B. These minutes were held back until approved by subsequent meeting.

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sities in my conversation with the others he grew more composed. He even permitted himself to exchange a few words with me and said not a syllable, if I rightly recollect, regarding "dues-paying dupes," "jumping at the crack of the whip," "moribund organization," etc., etc.

When the conference was called to order the fun began. Like the point of a keen knife the argument of Trautmann and the Western men ran around the scalp of the American Federation of Labor. It was mighty good listening for a member of the S. T. & L. A. Our friend the Editor switched about, perched rather freely and swung all his limbs at once. To flop, or not to flop, that was the question. If flop it must be, then what would Maxie think? and Victor? and Algernon Sydney? A gulf in his subscription list has yawned before him. If he had only taken one side or the other in the labor union fight within the S. P. how much happier he would feel now! But both factions were members of the Party, the PARTY—God bless the party. If people could just go on writing articles for magazines and never make up their minds about anything—how lovely the revolution would be!

Then came the climax. Debs favored the new movement. He would have been at the conference had he not been ill. He would surely sign the Manifesto.

Having joined the new movement nothing remained to Simons but to prove his loyalty to the S. P. by slandering and lambasting and vilifying the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. Perhaps a large portion of its members could be tricked into opposing the new movement and thus have their organization shut out. On the other hand, progressive elements in the S. P. could be influenced in such a way as to make of them tools for opposition to anything the S. T. & L. A. might see fit to propose at the June convention. As to both these possible purposes, it is our impression that Simons has completely misjudged the situation and the character of the men with whom he has to deal. No, friends, this is not going to be like the 1904 convention of the "Socialist" party.

Apparently Simons has merely tried to jump the fence, being caught by a strand of barbed wire on the top. The idea of a unity based upon a great principle has not occurred to him. Consistency may be the "hobgoblin of small minds," but give us a trifle more of the hobgoblin. It re-assures Prof. Will, of whom Simons is trying to make a scape-goat, keeps entirely clear of the union question. Victor Berger, Hoehn and the Volkszeitung crew support the American Federation of Labor through thick and thin and back again. They are at least consistent in their inconsistency.

Forgetting for the moment all the bitterness which may have been shown on either side and having regard only for that great principle of fellowship in human suffering by which we should ever be animated, let me suggest the case is

The Political Struggle

The proletariat modeled its original organizations for defence upon the pattern of those of the guild journeymen—the UNION; so, likewise, did it fashion its original offensive weapons, whenever it faced Capital in organized bodies, after those of the journeymen—the BOYCOTT and the STRIKE.

For reasons peculiar to the historic days when the guild journeymen waged their battles against their masters, their weapons remained the same until their class became extinct. The modern proletariat, however, cannot abide by those original and primitive weapons. The more completely the several portions of which it is composed merge into a single Working Class, the more must its battles assume a political character. **ALL CLASS STRUGGLE IS A POLITICAL STRUGGLE.**

Even the bare requirements of the economic or industrial struggle compel the workingmen to set up political demands. Experience shows daily in multiplying instances that the capitalist State, or modern Government, considers it one of its principal duties, either to render impossible the organizations of workingmen, or (in countries where like in the United States, the spirit of the age injects too strongly to bluntly deny the Working Class such civic rights as those of voluntary organization), to render the organizations of labor ineffective by falling upon them with the combined forces of police, militia and judiciary, whenever the workingmen take the field against their employers in the economic struggles between the two.

The theoretical freedom of combination is, accordingly, insufficient if the proletariat is to build up its organizations with such fullness and completeness as to render them adequate for their purposes. Hence, whenever in the United States, the Working Class has stirred itself to improve its economic conditions, it has placed side by side with purely economic, a series of political demands calculated to free it from the class outrages perpetrated against it by Government, and to prevent the effectiveness of its economic organization from being thwarted. These political demands are to the American workingmen of the highest importance; they belong under the category of essential prerequisites, without which their further development becomes impossible; they are to the Labor Movement what light and air are to the human body.

There are those who endeavor to contrast the political with the economic movement, and to draw hard and fast lines between them, and who declare that the workingman should not "mix" the two. The fact is that the two—the political and the economic struggle—cannot be separated from each other. The economic struggle needs political rights and powers to be carried on successfully; and these political rights and powers will not drop into the lap of the proletariat from the moon; they will not be gravely conceded by the capitalist politicians in office; they have to be wrung from their hands; they have to be conquered; and their con-

quest requires the most energetic political activity possible—the independent political action of the Working Class, as independent from the favors, the aids, the promises of the bosses and capitalist class generally, as the economic action is, and necessarily must be, of the favors, aids and promises of that class.

On the other hand, in the last analysis, the political struggle is almost an economic one. If there is any difference between the two, it is that the political struggle is a more far-reaching and deeper cutting manifestation of the economic struggle.

Not those laws only that concern the Working Class directly, also the great majority of all the others affect it more or less. It is an inevitable conclusion that, just as same as all others, the Working Class must strive for political influence and political power, must endeavor to make the government subservient to its own interests.

The means to this end are universal, at least manhood suffrage. In many a country the Working Class is deprived of this powerful means and there it strives with might and main to acquire it. Here in the United States, the ballot is in the hands of the citizen workingman. The attempts to strike it out of his hands, the direct and indirect schemes under all specious pretenses to disfranchise the American proletariat, are numerous, but hitherto have not only been unsuccessful, but have had a contrary effect to the desired one. The American proletariat starts equipped with the most powerful political weapon—with the aid of which it can conquer all others. The task of the proletariat when it first starts its political struggles is generally made easy through the political conflicts that rage among the property holding classes themselves. The industrial capitalists, the merchants, the landlords, are generally at war with one another, and special interests always divide each of these classes into hostile political camps. During these political struggles, each side looks for allies and seeks to gain them through slight concessions. Sometimes after a victory the capitalist would break faith with his ally; but generally, during the first beginnings of the labor movement the victorious capitalist fulfilled his promises. It thus happened that the capitalist often appealed through their political parties to the proletariat for aid, and thus, themselves drew the workingmen into political action. So long as the capitalist uses the proletariat in this way, so long as the Working Class does not conceive the idea of standing out independently in the political field, the capitalists look upon it as their voting cattle, intended to strengthen the hand of its own exploiters. In this way matters continue for a considerable time.

But the interests of the proletariat and those of the capitalist class are so hostile to each other that the political alliance between the two cannot be lasting. The capitalist system of production is bound, sooner or later, to cause the participation of the Working Class in politics to take such shape that it

splits off from the capitalist parties, and the workingman sets up his own, the Labor Party.

This process lies in the very nature of things. There is no class interest but expresses itself in a political party; just as soon as the Working Class realizes its class interests it is bound to do what the other classes do, that is, express itself politically.

At what time the proletariat of a country will be so far matured as to take this decisive step, to cut, so to speak, the navel string that binds it, politically, to the capitalist system out of whose lap it has sprung, depends, above all, upon the economic stage of development that such a country has reached, in other words, upon the degree of exploitation to which the proletariat is subjected, **AND UPON THE COMPACTNESS OF ITS RANKS.** There are a number of other circumstances that affect considerably the time when the Working Class assumes political independence. Of these, two are the most important: first, the degree of enlightenment that the respective Working Class enjoys upon its political and economic situation; second, the attitude that the capitalist parties assume towards it. Both these circumstances have greatly promoted the movement of the Working Class in Germany, and hence it comes that the Labor Movement in Germany is further advanced than in any other country; and it is for just the reverse of these reasons, especially because of the hypocritical attitude of the political parties here, that with us the Labor Movement lags behind. But however the time may differ when, obedient to these different influences, the Labor Movement in a capitalist country takes the shape of a labor party, that time is sure to arrive as an inevitable result of the economic development.

At the same time every political party must strive to obtain the political upper-hand. It is bound to endeavor to turn the power of the State to its own advantage, that is, to use it in the interests of its class; in other words, it is bound to endeavor to become the ruling party in the State. By the very fact of its organizing itself into an independent political party, the Working Class turns its face towards this ultimate goal—the conquest of the political powers of the State, a goal which the economic development itself aids the Working Class to reach. In this respect also, the same as in respect to the time when the workingmen separate themselves from the capitalist parties, the time of their ultimate victory does not depend simply upon the degree of industrial development which the respective country may have reached, but upon a number of other circumstances both of national and international character.

Under the rule of the capitalist system, that is, of production for sale, co-operative production for use cannot become general. It is impossible to introduce the co-operative for the purpose of supplementing the capitalist system of production while at the same time keeping the latter in force. This self-evident proposition establishes the fact that the Socialist system of production

BLENESS OF THE FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE PROLETARIAT. While the proletariat is steadily extending itself, while it is growing ever stronger in moral and political power, while it is becoming ever more an economic necessity, while the Class Struggle is training it more and more into habits of solidarity and discipline, while its horizon is ever broadening, while its class-conscious organizations become ever larger and more compact, while it becomes, from day to day, the most important and, finally, the only Working Class upon whose industry the whole social body depends, while it undergoes all these important changes and thus progresses steadily, the classes that are hostile to it melt away with equal steadiness and rapidity; they steadily lose in moral and political strength; and they become not only superfluous, but a block to the progress of production, which, under their superintendence, falls into greater and greater confusion, conjuring up more and more unbearable conditions.

In view of this it cannot be doubtful to which side victory will finally lean. The property-holding classes have already been seized with fear at their approaching end. They hate to admit to themselves the precariousness of their situation; they try to deceive themselves with false pretences, and to drown their apprehension in hilarity and trivial jokes; they close their eyes to the abyss towards which they are rushing, and they do not seem to realize that by such a conduct they not only hasten their own downfall, but render it all the more disastrous to themselves.

As the last of the exploited classes, the working proletariat cannot put the power which it will conquer to the uses to which it was put by the previous classes, that is, to roll the burden of exploitation from its own upon the shoulders of some other exploited class. It is bound to use its power to put an end to its own and, along with that, to all forms of exploitation. The source of the exploitation to which it is now subject is the private ownership of the machinery of production. The proletariat can abolish its own exploitation only by abolishing private ownership in the machinery of production. The circumstance of the proletariat being stripped of all property in the means of production renders it disposed to abolish private property in that; the exploitation to which the private ownership of the means of production subjects the proletariat, compels it to abolish the capitalist system of production and to substitute it with the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the instruments of production cease to be private and become social property.

Everything combines to render the militant proletariat most accessible to the teachings of Socialism. To the proletariat, Socialism is no tidings of bad news: it is a veritable evangel. The ruling classes cannot accept Socialism without committing suicide; the proletariat, on the contrary, derives new life from Socialism, new vigor, new inspiration and renewed hope. As time passes, Socialism can only become more and more acceptable to the proletariat.

In whatever country the proletariat reaches the point of establishing an independent Labor party, such a party is bound, sooner or later, to take on Socialist tendencies, even if it were not animated from the start by the Socialist spirit. In the end such a party cannot choose but become a Socialist Labor Party.

must be the inevitable result of the triumph of the proletariat. Even if it were not consciously to use its supremacy in the State to recover possession of the machinery of production and to replace the capitalist with the Socialist system, it would be compelled to do so by the logic of events, although in that case not without committing many mistakes, incurring much sacrifice and squandering much time and energy. The end of it all will, under all circumstances, be the Socialist system of production. Its triumph is unavoidable just so soon as that of the proletariat itself has become unavoidable. The proletariat is bound to use its triumph for the abolition of its own exploitation, and that it can never accomplish without establishing the Socialist order. The economic and political development itself, noticeable to-day in the large capitalist undertakings—the combinations, syndicates and trusts—point the proletariat the path to Socialism, and push it in that direction. This stage of economic development which we have reached is certain to render abortive all attempts to move in a different direction which the proletariat of any country may make, in case it should be disinclined to adopt the Socialist system.

It is, however, by no means to be ex-

pected

that

the

proletariat of any country, once it has come to power, will reveal any disinclination to adopt the Socialist system. To imagine that, would be to imagine that the proletariat would be in its infancy at the same time that it had ripened politically, economically and morally into manhood, equipped with the power and ability to overcome its enemies and impose its will upon them. Such a disparity of growth is least imaginable with the proletariat. Thanks to machinery, so soon as the proletariat has risen above its original, degraded condition, it revealed a thirst for the acquisition of knowledge and a taste for grappling with problems of social import. Side by side with this intellectual development on the part of some, the economic development of modern society moves on with such rapid strides that even those ranks of the proletariat that are least favored cannot fail to learn the lesson so strikingly taught by the large combinations of capital.

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who went out on strike were members of the Socialist Party (we had been given to understand at various times, when we became too inquisitive or active, that the Socialist Party local was there when we came). On this particular occasion we determined not to be sat down upon. Accordingly, at the next meeting night, we brought the matter up in the local, and when we left it was being "cussed". The members one by one dismissed themselves. That was the last meeting for three weeks.

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Report of Vital Statistics—Infants
Under One Year, One-Third of
Death Rate.

Washington, May 5.—Consul-General Mason sends the following report from Berlin, Germany:

The Imperial Bureau of German Statistics is accustomed to make and publish periodically some very interesting studies based on the vital statistics of the empire. These studies relate primarily to the marriage, birth, and death rates, as related to the increase, change of domicile, and other movements of the population, and taken together, shed a very interesting sidelight upon the steady, symmetrical growth of the German people. The latest studies of this kind have been based upon the vital statistics of 1903, and from results recently published the following facts are derived.

The census of Germany is taken at the beginning of December every fifth year. The last one, taken December 1, 1900, showed a total population of 56,367,178, an increase of 4,087,277, or 7.8 per cent, during the five years since December 1, 1895. It may therefore be assumed that the total population of the empire during 1903, the year under observation, was about 50,000,000 souls. Among these people there were solemnized during the year 463,150 marriages, which was equal to 7.91 for each 1000 of the population. The months most prolific in weddings were in the following order: October, May, November and April. Of the men who married, about 44 per cent were between the ages of 25 and 30 years; the brides, in 58 per cent of all the marriages, were under 25 years of age. In 95,577 cases, or 20.6 per cent of the whole number, the bride was older than the bridegroom. Ninety per cent of the men and 91 per cent of the women had not been previously married. Of the whole number of marriages 276,468 were of the evangelical faith, 140,965 were Catholics and 2631 of the Jewish religion.

The total number of births was 2,046,206, of which 1,983,078, or 96.91 per cent were living, and 63,128, or 3.09 per cent were stillborn. Born in wedlock were 1,875,672 children; out of wedlock 170,584, or 8.33 per cent of the whole number. Twins were numerous—26,285 pairs, or 1.2 out of each 1000 births; of triplets there were 270 and quadruplets 2 cases; both of the latter in Bavaria. Of the whole 52,804 children of plural births 26,816 were males and 25,388 females. Illegitimate births were most numerous in February, March, April and May; least numerous in August and October. Stillbirths were most numerous in August, October and June.

Against this stalwart birth record there were 1,224,033 deaths, a net gain by natural causes of 747,045 souls during the year. The most fatal months were, in order, February, January, August, September and March; the least deadly, November, December and June. The high death rate of February was due, as usual, to tuberculosis and other maladies of the respiratory organs, which are the scourge of this humid, sunless, winter climate, and to various complications resulting from influenza. The high relative mortality of August and September, 1903, is attributed to the fact that the prevalent weather was exceptionally warm and wet, conditions under which the death rate from intestinal disease is uniformly increased in Germany. Especially fatal was that period to nursing children; the number of deaths of infants during July, August and September, 1903, having been about 10,000 or more than those during the whole year 1902. With all the progress of German medicine and surgery, with all the amelioration that improved midwifery and skillful nutrition have provided, the infant death record is here, as elsewhere, a pathetic and lamentable one. Of the whole 224,033 deaths in Germany during 1903, less than 404,529, or 24.5 per cent, were of children under 1 year of age. Leaving out of account the stillbirths, 20.4 per cent, or one in five of the children still alive, died before they had reached the age of 12 months. Of the whole number of these victims, 351,086, or 19.3 of every 100 born, were legitimate, and 53,437, or 22.7 per cent, were of those born out of wedlock. The least fatal decade of human life in Germany is that between the tenth and twentieth years. From the later age onward the death rate increases quite uniformly with advancing age.

In respect of self-murder Germany continues to present a sinister record. There were 11,303 suicides in 1900, 11,336 in 1901, and 12,336, namely 9733 males and 2570 females, in 1902. This was 21 suicides for every 100,000 of the population of Germany, a rate which can only be explained by what certain psychologists have declared to be a racial tendency, accentuated in the cases of many individuals by poverty, resentment of military discipline, and fear

of rumors growing out of failure to pass difficult examinations in school and college. It is noticeable, however, that the suicide death rate is slowly but surely decreasing. In 1878 the proportion was 30 suicides for each 100,000 inhabitants, in 1879, 1881 and 1882 it rose to 31, since when it has gradually declined with the generally improved social and material condition of the working classes until the annual tribute of self-murder is from 20 to 25 per 100,000.

Death by accident and murder cost the Fatherland annually from 35 to 37 human lives for every 100,000 of the people. This includes, of course, the loss of life by rail, and here there is a showing which more than compensates for the gloomy record of suicide. The exact statistics of railway casualties do not form a part of the published report, but they have been specially prepared and furnished to this consulate by the imperial health office for the five years from 1897 to 1901 inclusive, as follows:

	Passengers	Employees	Total
1897	98	722	820
1898	72	825	897
1899	79	842	921
1900	119	860	979
1901	75	788	863
Total	443	4037	4480

Compare these figures with the 411 people killed and 3747 injured by railroads in the United States during the period of three months from July 1 to September 30, 1904, and it will be seen that in one respect, at least, human life is better protected here than in America.

In respect to malignant diseases, one of the darkest spots in the records of recent years is the steadily growing death rate from cancer. Not less than 35 persons per week—a minimum average of 5 per day—die of cancerous disease within the municipal limits of Berlin.

ELEVATOR BOYS.

A Sample of Conditions in Philadelphia Hotels, by One of Them.

[Special Correspondence.]

Philadelphia, Pa., May 6.—The elevator boy dreams of owning the hotel before he enters the position, but after taking some of the slavish effects of this profit-making institution, he longs to escape.

Reporting at 7:30 o'clock in the evening for night duty, he goes to the dining room bench for his supper, "a la remnant", and at 8 o'clock begins the work after which he gets christened, and is sometimes laid out at.

Sliding the "cage" door open of this anti-safety, old-style, but up-to-date profit apparatus (which is able to raise the owner's interest and the bodies of his guests, along with the elevator boy and the latter's wages, too—if the wages are in the boy's pocket when the elevator ascends), is no light task.

In the winter the drafts from the shafts and cellar-ways fan into the operator's body everything from muscular rheumatism to pneumonia.

Now, then, the elevator must be "respected", because it's property and costly, but elevator boys are to the capitalist nothing but merchandise, and easily obtained. Consequently, the owner informs his wage slave to "rest" the elevator and run up the stairs to answer room calls of the different cranks, pranks and dopes for hot water and ice water. Continuous rushing up and down stairs for three floors, thirty-six rooms, with hands loaded with pitchers full of water will have an injurious effect upon the heart.

When the elevator takes another pause at 12 o'clock midnight this little operator starts to sweep the dining-room carpet, which, in Philadelphia, is about a block long. With a broom in one hand, the other hand acts as night-clerk, assisting the drunken, profanity-hawking guests, and answering the calls from the society lady freaks.

At 4 o'clock in the morning he goes to the cellar to be the stoker and fireman, to build six fires, and feed the steam-heater and the hot-water engine. Then he can feed himself a little from the eatables that are not under lock and key in the refrigerator. Mr. Slave Driver sees to it that his wage slave doesn't get "gouey" overeating any of the fresh food.

Well, after shoveling about a ton of coal, the elevator boy can wash up, breakfast, go up stairs and call the guests without waking them up! Then, at 8:30, he goes home to his furnished room for the other part of the day, and searches for sleep.

This is the condition of these wage workers now. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance must shelter them also before any change or improvement is possible for them.

Socialism is possible when a majority of the Working Class become conscious that therein lies the salvation of their present and future economic existence. The work of the Socialist to-day is to work to obtain that majority.

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

From Mrs. Olive M. Johnson, Member Socialist Labor Party.

I

Oakland, Cal., March 16.—In the Chicago Manifesto debate four main opinions have so far been advanced by Socialist Labor Party members. Number one may be summed up in: "Beware of such explosions! Stay away from such conventions!" Number two: "Send delegates to the June convention but with iron-clad laws that if the convention does not endorse the Socialist Labor Party, the delegates withdraw." Number three: "That the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance ought to go up in the proposed organization and that it would be best all around if the non-political party endorsement clause be upheld by the convention." Number four: "Delegates should be sent! Extreme caution exercised. Continually on the look out for a trap and general hostility observed!"

Let us examine these in rotation.

First, the main work of the Socialist Labor Party during the last nine years has been concentrated in the effort to break down the power of "pure and simpledom."

It has exposed the fakirs,

laid bare the incapacity and scabbism of the American Federation of Labor,

drawn the workers' attention to their

abject position in the alliance between the American Federation of Labor and the National Civic Federation on the

one side and the Citizens' Alliance and the reserve army of unemployed on the

other; and how, withal, the fakirs were

used to lead the workers into the politi-

cal shambles of capital. Upon this the

Party has issued books, pamphlets, leaf-

lets, manifestos and filled pages upon

pages of the Daily and Weekly People,

spent thousands of dollars and an un-

amount of energy. The intellectual

drowsiness of the American working

class has at last given way before this

extensive campaigning. It is stagger-

ing and shaking the Rip Van Winkle

sleep out of its eyes. With such a

situation before us it is beyond compre-

hension how a Socialist Labor Party

man can cry out: "Beware of such

explosions!"

Second, I am positively opposed at all

times to sending delegates with iron-

clad instructions to conventions, whose

only purpose it can be to listen to the

pros and cons and thus come to better

conclusions. The Socialist Trade & La-

bor Alliance is a live movement and

ought to be represented by LIVE MEN,

NOT FOSSILS.

The best men with

their brains in chains of instructions are

only living fossils. If 100 men come to-

gether, each with a pocketful of instruc-

tions, how can there be any deliberation?

If the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance

sends delegates at all, such must be able

to THINK, TALK and ACT freely

upon questions that ARISE, MANY OF

WHICH CANNOT BE FORESEEN.

It is untrue what one debater said, that

the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is

bound to stand by its delegates.

The general vote of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is its highest court, and, in this case, both it and that of the Socialist Labor Party, must of necessity have its say.

Third, it is impossible that the Social-

ist Trade & Labor Alliance can DE-

SIRE a separation of the political and

economic organizations of labor and,

therefore, its delegates could not work

for or even passively submit to it. That

these two organizations must go to-

gether in the emancipation of the work-

ing class is THE FUNDAMENTAL

PRINCIPLE of the Socialist Trade &

Alliance. It is this that makes its po-

sition impregnable, and a Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance or Socialist Labor Party man is bound to work for that

and have its say.

With Comrade Ebert I say, "No com-

promise!" Truth and correct principle

cannot be compromised. They must be

forced forward or they will force them-

selves out in less pleasant manners;

but it is this forcing process that som-

times takes a little time. Indeed, we

cannot afford to compromise truth, but

IT IS NOT COMPROMISE to take

advantage of an event that arises. That

is statesmanship and generalship. The

Chicago convention is an event, and

what is more it is an event that we long

have sought for. To be ALIVE TO

THE SITUATION is what is now re-

quired. It is not child's play we are up

against; it is American history that is

being enacted. The Socialist Labor

Party must have a large, active,

economic sister organization before it

is face to face with the revolution. There-

fore we cannot afford to let anyone

else take charge of the awakening

masses. A mistake at this stage may

cause a fatal event.

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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888.....	2,068
In 1893.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

Muse not the way the pen to hold,
Luck hates the slow and loves the bold,
Soon come the darkness and the cold.
Greatly begin! though thou have time
But for a line, be that sublime—
Not failure, but low aim, is crime.

—LOWELL

"STEALING THUNDER".

Mr. Jack London, described as a young San Francisco journalist, and who has latterly burst forth across the literary firmament as a Socialist and proponent of Socialism, appears with a new book entitled the "War of the Classes." The burthen of this book's song is that the ruling class is "stealing the thunder" of Socialism and the charge is attempted to be proved by the prevailing and increasing rage for "municipalization." Both the allegation and the reasoning are false.

If "municipalization" is what Socialism aims at, then it is not Capitalism that is stealing the thunder of Socialism, but Socialism that is purloining the thunder of Capitalism. Long before Socialism advanced its tenets and unfurled its flag, Capitalism started in to "municipalize", and did "municipalize" many a function that was previously a private industry. The Fire and Police Departments are instances in point; and the principle was extended by Capitalism to the national sphere when it wiped out the private undertakings of mercenary armed bands and letter-carrying, nationalized both, together with other such one-time private industries, and established the Post Office, the War Department, etc. Surely not Jove but Prometheus was a thief of thunder. If "municipalization" or even "nationalization" is the thunder that Socialism is playing at, then, as well charge Jove with stealing the flickering flames of Prometheus, as charge Capitalism with stealing the thunder of Socialism when the capitalist class flashes its "municipalization" or "nationalization" lightning with the accompanying roll of thunder.

"Municipalization" and "nationalization" are stages in capitalist development; they are stages closely parallel with the development of feudalism when the overlord shore the crests of his feudal grantees, and, one after another, "municipalized" or "nationalized", in short, absorbed the feudal functions that they once exercised and enjoyed. No bourgeois of the then oncoming class of Capitalism ever for a moment imagined the slightest relief from the then process of feudal "municipalization" and "nationalization"; nor did it enter his head that the feudal overlord was stealing bourgeois thunder, much as appearances might seem to point in that direction. What the bourgeois strove after was the snapping of the bonds of feudalism that hampered his motions; never an instant was he deceived by the circumstance that, because the number of his exploiters decreased, he, therefore, was freer; as fast as these decreased he felt the power of the increasing exploiter increase, the latter's grip more merciless upon his neck, the latter's fingers more greedily rummaging in his pockets. Exactly so with the "municipalizations" and "nationalizations" of Capitalism. As the feudal lords "pooled their issues" by merging their powers in the feudal central authority, so do the capitalist lords, to-day, "pool their issues" by "municipalization" and "nationalization" schemes—huge mergers in which union adds suction-power to capitalist tentacles and tyrant-power to capitalist claws.—Not such is the aim of Socialism; not of such material is its thunder. The thunder of Socialism begins and ends with the demand for the abolition of wage-slavery—and that lighting no capitalist Jove dare monkey with, let alone steal!

Mr. Jack London is a young man; the sun-burst of Socialism seems to dazzle him; its fresh breath seems to make him reel with the intoxication of delight. It is to be hoped that he is not too permanently young to realize that he has yet to learn what Socialism is, and that he be endowed with sufficient earnestness to acquire the knowledge, and cease allowing his facile pen to act as a conjurer of lures that promote capitalist manœuvres.

WHAT'S AMISS?

A strike has been in progress for some time in Chicago, for fully a week it has been at an acute stage; and yet Mr. Samuel Gompers, "President", "Editor" and "Undertaker" has not yet shown up on the scene to preside over, editorialize upon, and officiate as undertaker at the funeral of an endeavor of Labor to wrest better conditions from the capitalist exploiter!

Something must be amiss.

We recently had a sample of Gompers or A. F. of Hellism in New York. Just as soon as the Interborough strike threatened to be a serious affair to "President", "Editor" and "Undertaker" Gompers patron Belmont, the gentleman alighted on this city, like a ready mosquito on a palpitating vein, and, together with his friend, Grand Chief Stone, and his fellow Cigarmakers Unionman, the Volkszeitung Social Democrat Morris Brown, stabbed Labor in the back by declaring that "the strikers broke their contract and were in the wrong"!!

It has been so every time. Every time Labor threatened to seize the vulture exploiter by the throat, the latter knew how to connect with Gompers, just where to find him and to turn the worthy into a "Johnny-on-the-Spot" for "Undertaker" purposes. How comes it Gompers and none of his assistants have yet turned up in Chicago with the declaration that "the striking teamsters are wrong", that they have "broken their contract", and that "the sacred rights of the employer must be protected"?

There certainly is something amiss. Can it be that the reason for the gentleman's scarcity in Chicago is that bullets are flying around, and he fears to have his precious hide perforated? Perish the thought! Whoever saw Gompers, as, with military tread and thrown-out chest, he exhibits himself in public with the three turkey-feathers of "President", "Editor" and "Undertaker" in his hair, can not but dismiss the idea that cowardice could ever find room in his valiant chest. Some people have claimed that, whenever there is real trouble, Gompers is in hiding. But these people are mere "assassins of character."

If, then, it is not the violence, prevailing now in the Chicago strike, that keeps Gompers away, what does?

Something is amiss!

WARSAW AND KAMRANH BAY.

Poland may be far from Indo-China and Kamranh Bay, but if they were close and contiguous neighbors they could not be the scenes of happenings more identically in accord.

The despots from Poland are unanimous in describing the shooting by the police and military at the May Day parade as "unprovoked and willful." Superficially considered, the act looks like a blunder of subalterns. There is turmoil enough in the Czar's dominions; why exasperate the people of Poland and add to the Czar's troubles? It was no subalterns blunder. They obeyed orders from above. Whether the policy pursued by the rulers of Russia be wise or unwise, the palpable police outrage committed in Poland on May Day was in pursuit of that policy, a foreign policy, whose counterpart is being pursued in Kamranh Bay. That policy is to embroil Europe in the war that now is taxing the forces of Russia.

The Chicago Daily Review seems to fill this field very acceptably. At the same time its one strong "feature story" each day, and its well edited departments make it an interesting family organ.

Russian domestic and foreign troubles would lead to. While Rojestvensky is quickening all he can the pace of France in Kamranh Bay, the Russian subalterns in Poland are inciting riot with the view of quickening the pace of the German Emperor.

LONG TIME BETWEEN SHOTS.

The unsophisticated will wonder what it all means. Here is a first-class scandal in Brooklyn's crack Twenty-third Regiment. Col. William A. Stokes has flown off the handle, and criticized his own regiment, whereupon General James McLeer hauls up the colonel, and has it out with him.

It all comes from idleness. Neither the colonel nor the general would be at odds with each other if they were busy. But the trouble is they are not busy. There is nothing doing. Hasn't been for some time. Since the Albany strike, when the Twenty-third Regiment, Colonel Stokes's regiment, rioted through the city, and murdered an innocent shopkeeper standing at his door, the regiment's hands have been lying idle. When business is good partners are happy; when business is bad they grumble and fall out. And so, "business" being bad with the colonel's regiment, he has shot off his mouth. Not having workmen to shoot at; being deprived of the exhilarating sport of terrorizing a whole city, of chasing the wealth producers with guns, and shooting somebody, lest the hunt be lost—what is the glorious Twenty-third Regiment to do?

The song they sang at their recent annual dinner, and which was published in full in these columns, invoked the Muse to send them "business." But the Muse seems to have been deaf to their entreaties. She sent no "business", and there seems to be none in sight. And so the colonel got himself into some other trouble.

"Long time between drinks!" said the governor of North Carolina to the governor of South Carolina. When Colonel Stokes started to tell on his regiment, what he had in mind was: "Long time between shots!"

BY THE WAY!

The following puff and endorsement appears on the front page of a certain Chicago daily—the "Daily Review":

PROMINENT SOCIALIST COMMENTS.
Editor Chicago Daily Review, Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:—The Chicago Daily Review represents an interesting and fruitful experiment in journalism. There has long been a need for a paper which in price, size and quality should be suited to the body of persons who desire to know the principal events of current history promptly without necessity of wading through the vast mass of worse than useless stuff that appears in the ordinary daily.

The Chicago Daily Review seems to fill this field very acceptably. At the same time its one strong "feature story" each day, and its well edited departments make it an interesting family organ.

Very truly yours,

A. M. Simons,
Editor Charles H. Kerr & Company.

What kind of paper may this be? Rather than answer the question ourselves, let the paper in question speak for itself. Here is an editorial paragraph, in the April 26th issue of the said "Daily Review," the identical issue that contains the above quoted front page puff and endorsement:

"Mayor Tom Johnson of Cleveland, has been fighting the battles of the people in that city for many years and is still applying his genius to the solution of the traction problem. His latest proposal is that the street car business of the city shall be taken over by a company formed for the purpose of operating the lines in the interest of the public, paying interest to those who hold obligations against the property and then to apply all surplus to betterments. This would be a step in the right direction. It would go far, if successful, toward showing that public utilities can be managed that they will be of benefit to all the public."

Seeing that one swallow does not make a summer, we once more put to the said Chicago "Daily Review" the question: "What kind of a paper may you be?" The following other editorial paragraph, from the identical issue containing the above quoted endorsement and puff, confirms the answer indicated by the first paragraph. It is this:

"New York employers and mechanics in the building trades have taken a long step toward a better condition of things in the labor world by signing an arbitration agreement that will prevent strikes and lockouts. There are few real grievances that cannot be adjusted by impartial arbitration."

The answer is complete, ample: the Chicago "Daily Review" is a bourgeois radical reform paper, with all the cap-

italist ignorance of the needs of society, and admiration for the will o' the wisps that may tangle up the solution of a labor problem, and help safeguard the stolen goods of the capitalist class. There is no fault to be found with all this, a capitalist paper is there for capitalist purpose; it is accordingly perfectly legitimate for the Chicago "Daily Review" to advertise the sham of Simple Simon, otherwise known as "A. M. Simons, Editor," as a "prominent Socialist"—that is all right. But what does not look all right is the said "A. M. Simons, Editor's" exhibition of "individual opinion" and the gentleman's objection to a similar exhibition on the part of Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, both gentlemen being unquestionable pillars of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party.

If "A. M. Simon, Editor," has a right to his "private opinion" of considering the Tom Johnson scheme of buying the street car lines and "paying interest to those who hold obligations against the property" as a good thing, of applauding the editorial department of a capitalist paper that publishes such views, and of pronouncing such an editorial department "acceptable"—why should not Berger likewise have the right to the "private opinion" of considering a capitalist candidate "acceptable"?

If "A. M. Simons, Editor," has a right to his "private opinion" considering "acceptable" the editorial department of a paper that declares "there are few real grievances (between employer and employee) that cannot be adjusted by impartial arbitration"—why should not Berger likewise have the right to his "private opinion" of likewise coqueting with capitalist views—even though he may not likewise rake in a copper or two for the "good cause," while indulging his private views?

If the Wisconsin gentleman is an opportunist and should therefore be kicked out of "A. M. Simons, Editor's" party, as this gentleman suggests should be done—for what reason should not a generous application of kicks likewise fire "A. M. Simons, Editor," out of Berger's party?

By the way, is it not about time for the holding of another "harmony convention" between the Berger Socialists, and Volkszeitung Corporation Kangaroos of whom "A. M. Simons, Editor," is the Western picket?

(From Faribault, Minn., "Referendum.")

If any De Leontine asks you "What's the Difference?" tell him it's 375,000 or thereabouts—Jos. Wanhope, in the Pop-Demo, Bryan-Hearst, Gompers-Belmont sheet, the New York Worker.

Or, to the Debs vote in Boston, of might refer him to the Debs vote of 46,000 in Chicago November 4, 1904, and to your city ownership Democrat, alias "Socialist" candidate, Fakir John Collins' vote, April 4, 1905, of 23,000—a loss of 100 per cent in five months.

Or, of the Debs vote in Boston, of 5,500, November 4, 1904, and the "Socialist" alias public ownership single tax, double tax, wage party vote of 1,800 the following January, a loss of over 300 per cent—and there will be other differences at the time "Working People and their Employers" was written. Then, not only was the existence of a labor problem denied, but the labor question was regarded as an incidental phase of the great "American conflict." The statement shows that the evolution of "free" industry is rapid in this country. Though many sought to deny their existence at that time, these same questions, thanks to the same profound cause, have grown in their urgency since the aforementioned statement was made. So much is this the case, that the labor question now commands the direct attention of the chief executive of the nation, a thing that would have been deemed preposterous at the time "Working People and their Employers" was written. Then, not only was the existence of a labor problem denied, but the labor question was regarded as an incidental phase of the tariff or the money question, of no primary importance and, consequently, only worthy of secondary consideration, if considered at all. Now, all is changed. Few men of intelligence and knowledge will now deny that the problems of capital and labor are the greatest problems of American society. Such is the rapidity with which we progress!

Faneuil Hall, the most historic meeting place in Massachusetts, which has been restored to its original design by the city of Boston at a cost of over \$75,000, has been secured by Section Boston, Socialist Labor Party, for the evening of June 6, 1905, when the greatest public demonstration ever held for Socialism in Massachusetts will take place.

All the delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, opening in Lynn, June 5, are expected to be present, the trolley ride from Lynn to the Hall is very picturesque, embracing woodland and ocean scenery. The use of the Hall has been secured for the entire evening, from 6 to 12 o'clock, so that committees may assemble there any time between 6 and 7:30 o'clock p. m., when the meeting will be called to order. Industrial Unionism and Socialism will be thoroughly discussed by able speakers, followed by free discussion of the resolutions offered.

The Hall will accommodate about 4,000 persons. The galleries will be reserved for ladies and their escorts until 7:30 o'clock p. m. Comrades and friends of the movement are requested to give all possible publicity to this great meeting.

This is pretty plain language, but what is the remedy proposed for the conditions which it describes? Let the author tell us in his own way:

"If the capitalist would measure his

strength, and the workingman his wages,

Admission FREE.

THE GOLDEN RULE

As A Remedy for the Conflict Between Capital and Labor, on the Basis of the Wages System.

Our friend the local Socialist—he who is studying American economic evolution, and gave us recently some excerpts from an interesting book called "Class Interests"—is continuing his visits to the book stores in search of material. Last week he "picked up" four books published in the decade of 1880-1890. One of these "Socialism" by Starkweather and Wilson, a work that was the subject of much contemporaneous discussion. The others are "impartial" studies of Socialism and social questions by two ministers and a college president. These "impartial" studies are fairly bursting with pretensions of even handed justice to both Capital and Labor; but they show, on the whole, a decided bias for the former, mitigating its injustices, and defending its "rights," while insidiously condemning Labor and leaving it at the mercy of the exploiter. To some, this may appear to be a matter for despair. But such it is not: on the contrary, it is a hopeful indication. History has repeatedly shown that the deeper and the greater a wrong, the more NEED is there for the employment of every faculty and art to prevent its uprooting and overthrow by truth and justice. The struggle for the abolition of chattel slavery should leave no doubt, if any exists, on that score. The fact that a great army of intellectual and able men are required to oppose the labor doctrines of a comparative few, speaks volumes for the inherent value and significance of those doctrines. Where there is much attack, there is a great enemy.

But this a digression. Let us get back to one of the three "impartials"—"Working People and Their Employers", by the Congregational minister, Washington Gladden, the now famous "tainted money" moderator—and extract what good we can from it. Published in 1885, but a short time after the Civil War, and while the war was still ranking from the wounds created by it, the preface contains a sentence that is indicative of the change from the old slavery to the new, and the necessity for a settlement of the issues growing out of the latter. The sentence is as follows:

"Now that slavery is out of the way, the questions that concern the welfare of our free laborers are coming forward; and no intelligent man needs to be admonished of their urgency." It is of no slight importance that such a statement should be written so shortly after the great "American conflict." The statement shows that the evolution of "free" industry is rapid in this country. Though many sought to deny their existence at that time, these same questions, thanks to the same profound cause, have grown in their urgency since the aforementioned statement was made. So much is this the case, that the labor question now commands the direct attention of the chief executive of the nation, a thing that would have been deemed preposterous at the time "Working People and their Employers" was written. Then, not only was the existence of a labor problem denied, but the labor question was regarded as an incidental phase of the tariff or the money question, of no primary importance and, consequently, only worthy of secondary consideration, if considered at all. Now, all is changed. Few men of intelligence and knowledge will now deny that the problems of capital and labor are the greatest problems of American society. Such is the rapidity with which we progress!

B. J.—Just so.

U. S.—Even if a political party of Socialism tried to ignore the wranglings of the economic field, the wranglings will not ignore it. Its wrangling membership will carry into the party organization the wranglings that divide them on the economic field.

B. J.—I now admit all that. But how is the thing to be avoided?

U. S.—I shall enter upon that presently. Before doing so, however, it will be necessary to remove a cobweb or two from your mind.

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—We have proceeded so far upon the theory that the concentration of capital is proceeding so fast that within ten years the Union will have no chance any more—

B. J.—That is the theory from which we proceeded.

U. S.—That theory needs a little clarification.

B. J.—In what way?

U. S.—Do you mean to say that there will not then be any Union in existence?

B. J.—Just so!

CORRESPONDENCE

Watch
will tell
pires. F
CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER
AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COM-
MUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.
NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

AS TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Every proposed candidate to the Chicago convention should state his position. I am in full accord with Comrade De Leon's views on instructions and endorsement.

Recognition of the class struggle, of the merchandize character of Labor, of an unceasing demand for the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class is the only basis of organization I can accept or will defend.

A political party of the revolution naturally reflects the material interests of the revolutionary class. Such a party is the eyes, the brain, the head of the revolutionary body whose economic interests are reflected. The Working Class is the body of the revolution, also of the new social order. The bona fide political party of Labor is the head, and must precede the body. In a successful revolution the head becomes the head of the new social order, the central directing authority. In all cases the head is responsible for, and answerable to, the body. In order that functions may be properly performed the body must send blood to the brain which must be sent back again. In short, the head and the body are one, acting and reacting upon each other.

If the simile used by Comrade De Leon illustrates the present condition, then the body, being uppermost, demands our careful consideration. Some concern has been felt lest the Socialist Labor Party should be lost during the economic organization of the Working Class. Now, if the Socialist Labor Party is the head of the Working Class, it cannot be lost. If it is not the head, the time has not yet come for the proper organization of the workers.

Every repressive force at the command of capitalism will be used against the new organization, and the conflict between Labor and capital will be more terrific, but instead of a retreating army of Labor there will be an advancing army of Labor and a retreating army of capital. Under present conditions it is capital demanding no interference in production and exchange. Under the new unionism, Labor will protest against any hindrance to production and exchange.

Such are my views poorly expressed. Feeling the stupendous importance of the occasion I leave the matter thus, hoping that the time has come for beginning the work of economic organization and that our convention may find others more capable of taking part in that work than myself.

Theo. Bermine,
Indianapolis, Ind., May 1.

COMRADE JACOBSON'S OPINION INVITED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I would request Comrade Peter Jacobson, who has accepted the Socialist Labor Party nomination as delegate to the annual convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, to express himself briefly as to the course he would pursue in the Chicago convention to be held June 27th, should he be elected by the S. T. & L. A. convention as representative to the Chicago meeting.

Comrade De Leon, in his "confession of faith," recently promulgated, says that he will not make a motion that the new industrial organization shall endorse the S. L. P.—not only that, but gives notice that he will oppose such a motion coming from any quarter.

Comrade Jacobson, do you agree or disagree with this policy announced by Comrade De Leon? Speak out at once through the columns of the Party organ, or I, and perhaps others, want information before we vote.

Alex. B. McCullioch,
Manchester, Va., May 2.

COMRADE JACOBSON'S VIEWS.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—As I have been requested to express myself as to the course I would pursue should I be elected by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance Convention as a delegate to the Chicago convention on June 27, I submit the following:

Comrades, I have always looked upon the Socialist Labor Party as the right arm, and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance as the left arm, of the revolutionary movement of this nation; and if you cut off the left arm, you will then have a cripple left to fight in the political field; and, on the other hand, from an economic view, if you cut off the right arm off, you will then have a cripple left to fight the battle on the economic field.

I do not believe that the majority of the party members want the delegates of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance to the Chicago convention to cut the

Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance away from the Socialist Labor Party, and as I am a member of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, I would, under no condition, be a party to cutting away from the only true revolutionary political party of this nation, and I can see no reason why we should do so. United we are strong; divided we are weak.

You may say that we are small in numbers, but I know we are strong in action, and as the Fakirs are losing ground, the victory will be ours.

I do not expect that I will be nominated in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance Convention as a delegate to the Chicago convention, but should the above views of mine be upheld in the convention, and I am elected a delegate to the Chicago convention, I will stand by them.

I believe I have given my views short but plain—to your satisfaction. I remain, yours for the emancipation of the wage workers,

Peter Jacobson.

Yonkers, N. Y., May 5.

A GENUINE VOLKSZEITUNG AT THE GAME OF BUNCO.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—It is a true saying that, give the right fellow plenty of rope and he is sure to do the right thing. A case in point is that which happened not long ago in Norwich, Conn. The Socialist Labor Party has no organization in Norwich. The Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party had a local there. That organization was fathered by one of the "alte Genossen", namely, Robert Gley, who never tires of telling of the "Socialist movement in Germany", and the prominent part he took in that movement when there. And so they would come together and over a glass of beer they would talk of party matters at home and abroad—mostly abroad. Being a follower of the "Volkszeitung" Genosse, Robert Gley has the same opinion of the Socialist Labor Party as the "Volkszeitung" has itself, namely, that the Socialist Labor Party consists of a few "Amerikaner" who know nothing of Socialism, to say nothing of the misrepresentations of the Socialist Labor Party with which he stuffed his followers? Everything would have gone on as usual, had not Mr. Gley himself come to the rescue, and this is where the fine points of the rope come in.

One fine day, Gennosse Gley came to the meeting of the local, and presented a letter which he said he received from the State organizer. The letter read that the State Organizer will be at headquarters in New Haven and that all locals in the State are called upon to send delegates to receive instructions about their new by-laws, etc. Gennosse Robert Gley made a long speech about the necessity of sending a delegate, and made a motion that \$10 be given to the delegate for expenses. And he talked of the necessity of sending one who knew all about the movement to properly represent the local, meaning, of course, himself. The local voted the \$10, but instead of electing Robert Gley they elected one Frank Homestead, an American young man who is well liked. Robert Gley, seeing that another was elected as delegate took his coat and left in a hurry.

On the appointed day given in the letter supposed to have been received by Robert Gley, the delegate went to New Haven. When he got there and began to look up things he found it all a fake. No letter was sent. No organizer was to come; no convention was to be held, nor was one contemplated. Utterly disgusted, he came back to Norwich, returned \$5 to the local, and told his experience. Then it dawned upon them that Gennosse Robert Gley wanted to go a-junketing, and wanted the local to pay for it; and this was the roundabout way he worked his game. The first effect was that the local "busted" up. The honest rank and file opened its blinks and is now willing to listen to reason, and a Socialist Labor Party organization may be the result.

Let us hope that the honest rank and file who paid their money and gave their labor, believing they were advancing the cause of Socialism, will now see that they were helping the Volkszeitung corporation, whose network of representatives look upon an honest workingman as a milch cow.

Ch. Sobrowski,
Norwich, Conn., May 3.

TO INCREASE MEMBERSHIP.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Since we are about to begin our campaign of outdoor meetings, I wish to make a few suggestions. I consider that the most important thing to be done during the coming summer months is to increase the numerical strength of our organization. As a political party,

we are too small to accomplish much. It will not do to be satisfied with what members we have. That would result in our party growing still smaller. Our members are not going to be satisfied to stand still. If we do not grow they will get discouraged and either become inactive or drop out entirely. Our members can be appealed to from time to time to exert themselves more and they will respond and work harder for a short time, but if they do not see any growth, they will soon quit. Every future appeal will have less effect.

No one cares to work for an apparent hopeless cause. The only thing that will stimulate our members is a growing organization. I do not underestimate the necessity for getting subscriptions to our party organs and selling books at our street meetings, but there is one thing I consider of still greater importance at the present time, and that is to get new members. There is plenty of material that is fit to be taken into the Socialist Labor Party. If we go at it right, we can pick up at least one new member at each street meeting. In New York City we have sold books and distributed literature for years. Many working people have read it and, to some extent, understand it. But they do not come to us and apply for membership. They seem to think that the only part for them to play is to follow us around at our street meetings, listen to our speakers, and watch us do all the work. We must teach them differently. Our speakers should not spend all of their time in telling about the great cause we are working for; they should also consider it important to appeal to outsiders to get into our party and help us. I, for one, am going to carry application blanks with me when I attend street meetings and do all I can to get new members.

I am not in sympathy with the comrades who think we are growing too fast. Of course, we want the right kind of members and, what is more, we can get them. There is plenty of good material floating around. Let's get after it and build up our party organization.

Andrew Sater.

New York, May 3.

SOCIALIST UNITY.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I wish to commend "The Irrepressible Class Conflict in Colorado" as the best exposition of the conditions in the Cripple Creek district. I wish I could sign myself "fraternally", but at least I feel sure that things will so shape themselves that in this country, as in France, Socialist unity will be accomplished.

Herbert M. Merrill,

Sec. Local S. D. P.

Schenectady, N. Y., April 29.

AS TO THE LABEL.

I.

To the Daily and Weekly People: The Secretary of the Navy Yard Machinists Local, Mr. Seekins, wants to know why there is no label on the People, if it is published, as I stated, by organized labor? I would like The People to answer that question for there are a number of Gompersites sneering about it. Give it to them straight from the shoulder.

D. L. M.

Portsmouth, Va., April 30.

II.

(From Daily People, Nov. 19, 1904;
Weekly People, Nov. 26, 1904.)

AS TO THE LABEL.

To the Daily and Weekly People: During the present campaign I have frequently been questioned by union men as to why the S. L. P. does not use the union label on its literature and papers. I have always answered that we omit the label chiefly because the unions have permitted it to become a capitalist device for selling goods, and because it is not an infallible sign that the workers got even "decent wages." This reply is not satisfactory to the men I have met, most of whom are friendly to the idea of Socialism, and will vote the Debs ticket, mainly, I think, because of this union label matter. They say: "If you employ union printers you should use the union label to show that your work is not done by non-union or scab labor. If your S. T. & L. A. is a union of honest men and your printing is done by its members, why don't you use its label?"

MINER'S VIEW OF SOCIALISM.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I am going to send in a couple of subscriptions for "Red Letter Day". Situated as I am at a mining camp in a dark canon, where the sun shines only six months in the year, and the "sunshine of society" never shines, I can do but very little in the shape of propaganda for the Socialist Labor Party.

I manage, however, to corner a fellow wage slave now and then, and talk over the social subject with him, a kind of the quiet; and I do a little work by corresponding with relatives and friends and sending them reading matter, etc.

I am, by the way, not yet a member of the Socialist Labor Party, not that I have failed to see that the Socialist Labor Party is the only bona fide workingman's political party. Neither is it a failure on my part to perceive the vital point of system in an organization.

In one sense, I consider myself as much a member of the Socialist Labor Party as any one belonging to it; for I consider that membership in such an organization depends more on principle than on having one's name on the books at headquarters. But, as I have stated before, I am not losing sight of the systematic side of the question, and as soon as I get to where I can meet some of the comrades, I shall very likely be enrolled as a member.

T. J. Tanner.

Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 5.

The gist of the question turns upon the point of the answer, quoted above as given by friends of the label idea.

They are quoted as saying: "If you employ non-union or scab labor, you should use

the label to show that your work is not done by non-union or scab labor."

the union label to show that your work is not done by non-union or scab labor. If your S. T. & L. A. is a union of honest men and your printing is done by its members, why don't you use its label? Are you ashamed to proclaim to the world that your work is not done by scabs?"

In the first place, THE S. T. & L. A. HAS NO LABEL. It once had one. It deliberately discarded the same at the Hartford convention. The label was discarded upon the argument that the label was one of the levers which insensibly switched a Trades Union from the class struggle plane, on which alone it can be true to working class interests, on to the "Mutuality of Interests between Capital and Labor" plane, on which the line of the class struggle is blurred to the inevitable ultimate injury of the working class. The instances proving the point were overwhelming. They showed how the label first becomes a protection to the employer's goods; how, from that, it is gradually used by the employer in competition with others of the trade; how presently it serves to place members of the Union on the employer's pensionary list, by sending them over the country to advertise that particular employer's goods as "Union Label Goods"; how from that the label insensibly becomes a tool in the employer's hands in that, tempted by the revenues which the label furnishes the Union, the Union officers will lend themselves to the employer as a means to place a competing employer at a disadvantage by refusing him the label. Finally, it was shown how by these easy gradations the label turns into a means of grave injury to the working class; it prevents the full organization of the trade as a necessary consequence or preliminary to refusing the label to an employer's competitor—a striking illustration of which was lately documented furnished in the instance of the Tobin Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; and secondly it debauches the Union officers engaged in such practices: Through them it debauches the Union itself; takes the Union out of the category of a bona fide Labor organization, whose duty it is to consolidate the working class, and throws the Union into the category of a guild. These and scores of similar arguments settled the question. The S. T. & L. A. abolished its own label. The S. T. & L. A. having done so, and justly, too, by what process of reasoning can the S. L. P. or the S. T. & L. A. man indulge in the display of the very labels that furnished the arguments for the S. T. & L. A. to abolish its own?

The label, at best, is a delusion. In very few cases does it really help the men, and what is gained there is more than lost by the loss of the general principle. It is, consequently, not because we are ashamed to proclaim to the world that our work is done under the best labor conditions possible, that we use no label even when we employ a Union that deals in the article. We use no label because by the light of our knowledge to use the label is to encourage a delusion on the whole gravely harmful to Labor—and the S. L. P., which, while it does not understate, neither overstates the vote, holds that, not by fomenting delusion, but sober facts can the working class be emancipated.

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OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 386, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency).
Notice—For technical reasons no party announcement can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting of the National Executive Committee Sub Committee was held on Friday evening, May 5, with A. Gilhaus in the chair. Present: Gilhaus, Walsh, Moren, Teichlauf, Lechner, Olsen, Eck, Anderson, Donohue, Crawford, and Bahnsen. Absent: Burke, Kinnealy and Hossack. The recording secretary being absent, A. Moren was chosen to act pro tem. The financial report showed receipts in the amount of \$56.12, and expenditures \$185.23.

M. Lechner and W. Teichlauf, the committee to the Hungarian convention, made their report, pointing out that they had been favorably impressed with the earnestness and the spirit animating the delegates. In the matter of the resolution submitted by the Hungarian Branch at Milwaukee, Wis., transmitted by Section Milwaukee, it was found impossible to comply with same at this time, as the Party constitution makes impossible the forming of language sections in cities where a section already exists, as is the case in most places where Hungarian organizations have been formed. The convention decided that every member of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation must be a member of the Socialist Labor Party.

Communications: From Organizer Frank Bohn, reporting work in Arizona and his arrival in California where he began agitation in and around Los Angeles, organizing a section at San Pedro. From Denver, Colo., asking that a speaker be sent to enter into a debate with a Single Taxer. It being impossible to send any one from this end, the request was denied. From Chicago, Ill., on local situation and the work done for Party press, many subscriptions for the Weekly People having been secured. From Ohio State Executive Committee, accepting A. Gilhaus as Organizer if he can start on June 1. From Michigan State Executive Committee on National Agitation Fund matter. From Texas State Executive Committee, sending application for charter for Section Houston, which was granted. From C. C. Crawford, a letter mailed prior to former session of this committee in which he stated his inability to attend and asked to be excused. The letter, though correctly addressed, was delivered by Post Office to another person, and was by that person returned to Crawford. From Section Vancouver, B. C., further information upon W. P. Evans, recently expelled by Section Los Angeles. From Section Allegheny County, Pa., an inquiry relative to printing supplies in foreign languages. C. L. Stone, Hughes, Indiana Territory, a former member of Section Canton, Ohio, applying for membership at large, which application was granted. From Cincinnati, Ohio, upon local situation. From Section Kalamazoo, Mich., reporting the election of additional officers.

Resolved to instruct the secretary of the Committee on Party Press to call an early meeting in order to take up several matters referred to that committee.

A. Moren,
Rec. Sec. pro tem.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with Saturday, May 6, the following contributions were received for the above fund: W. B. P., Chicago, Ill. \$ 1.00 Miss C. Weinberger, New York (on 15c. weekly pledge)45 F. Clark, New Brighton, N. Y.52 California S. E. C. 100.00 Collected by F. Bohn, in San Pedro, Cal., from: A. Muhlbarg, \$5; L. Borriini, \$1; F. Oehmacher, \$5; F. Miller, soc.; A. Hansen, soc.; E. Anderson, soc.; P. C. Peterson, St. J. Bejovich, \$1; A. Meckelsen, \$1; A. Siegel, \$1..... 16.50 Julius Eck, Hoboken, N. J. 1.00 L. Katz, Philadelphia, Pa.35 F. Serr, New Haven, Conn.... .50 Holger Schmalzfuß, Pittsfield, Mass. (on \$1 monthly pledge) 1.00 Fred Hofman, Montrose, Col.... .50 Section New York County, account National Campaign Fund 3.25 John J. Donohue, New York.... 1.00 L. J. Francis, Tualatin, Ore.... 5.00 J. Finkbohner, Philadelphia, Pa. 1.00 Total \$132.07 Previously acknowledged 565.91 Grand total \$66.98 Henry Kuhn, Nat. Sec.

The undersigned desires to learn the present address of John Emerson. Henry Peterson. 308 Second street, Eureka, Cal.

CANADIAN N. E. C.

Regular meeting of Canadian National Executive Committee, at London, March 24. Comrade Pearce in chair. Cragg absent, no excuse. Minutes adopted as read.

Communications: From N. Y. Labor News Co., refunding cash for due stamp shortage. Motion carried that communication be received and filed. From H. T. Leach, organizer of Section Montreal saying that he received charter O. K., but no stamps. Secretary reported to attend same. Communication was received and filed. From J. E. Farrell, member at large, sending \$3 for dues, special assessment stamp, etc., same was received and filed.

Secretary read communications to Sections Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, and to The People and the N. Y. Labor News Co.

The financial secretary was ordered to procure a minute book for recording secretary.

The secretary was ordered to lay before the Sections the proposition to have the constitution and dues card combined.

The National Secretary was ordered to write N. Y. Labor News Co. to find out cost of printing the constitution and dues book also to procure a few sample copies of the constitution and dues book of the S. L. P. of U. S.

The National Secretary was ordered to write an address to sympathizers and readers of the Daily and Weekly People to be published in The People. The National Secretary was ordered to write P. Van Dusen, organizer of Section Hamilton, to find out the conditions in regard of the Section and party work.

The N. E. C. would point out to readers of the Daily and Weekly People that it is their duty to join the Section in their locality or, if no section exists there, to become a member at large by writing to National Secretary, Box 380, London, Ont.

The National Secretary complained of Sections not attending to communications promptly. Sections please take notice.

H. D. Forbes,
Recording Secy.

IN AID OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS.

Received since April 22 the following:
W. H. Peak, Pittsburgh, Pa. \$ 1.00
W. B. P., Chicago, Ill. 1.00
Total \$ 2.00
Previously acknowledged 128.57
Grand total \$130.57
Henry Kuhn, Nat. Sec.

16TH A. D.'S NEW HEADQUARTERS

The members of the Sixteenth Assembly District, Socialist Labor Party, desire to inform the general membership and sympathizers of the Party that they are now located at their new headquarters: 737 East Fifth street, between Avenues C and D, New York. The new headquarters, which consists of two large floors, are now undergoing slight alterations, and the comrades of the Sixteenth expect that within a few days they will be ready to receive their friends in the same cordial way as they have in the past.

CORRESPONDENCE.
(Continued from page 5.)

I am, of course, fully aware of the fact that I am becoming a member of the most terrible and intolerable political organization on the face of the world. I am made all the more aware of this, by the "terrible" blows the Socialist Labor Party is receiving from the Kangaroo. The Socialist Labor Party, being barricaded behind the impregnable fort of true principle, there is nothing left for the Kangaroo to do, but spit venom at its leaders. Poor Comrade De Leon!—he must feel terrible, being the personification of all that is vile and evil. And Comrade Frank Bohn!—well he must smart a little, too; but, Frank, I guess you'll be good now. In short, all of you in "the gang of little business men who compose the inner circle," must feel pretty bad, having been attacked by an organ that is surrounded by the "halo" of intellectuality that "The International Socialist Review" is.

It would seem, however, that "The International Socialist Review" is exerting itself unnecessarily for so small a task as ridding society of an already "moribund" party, that ceased to be a political party "about" two years ago. I am inclined to think that the Socialist Labor Party is not quite in as dying a state as "A. M. Simons, Editor" would have us believe.

Richard Ottan.

Yale, B. C., April 25.
ATTENTION!
Wage workers residing in Greater New York and vicinity, desiring information about the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance can get same by writing to the organizer of D. A. 49, Paul Augustine, 397 Willis avenue, New York.

BORN IN SAN PEDRO

Holds Two Successful Street Meetings and Organizes a Section There.

[Special Correspondence.]

San Pedro, Cal., April 27.—National Organizer Frank Bohn arrived in San Pedro on April 21, and spoke the same evening to a crowd of about 175 workingmen. His speech was masterfully delivered and attentively listened to. We distributed leaflets and sold fifty pamphlets and secured one yearly subscription for Weekly People.

The following evening we held another successful meeting; a few questions were put by some pure and simple and well answered by Bohn. Sixty-five pamphlets, several of them ten and fifteen-cent ones, were sold and a few subs secured. The next morning we met at Sweenford's Hall and organized a Section, with eleven members. We also collected \$16.50 for the State Agitation Fund.

It was a good starter and I hope that we will be able to give a good account of ourselves in the future. We have a good field to work in, as this is an industrial town, and a good many of the workers are getting disgusted with the American Federation of Labor style of organizing, by issuing charters to different unions in the same localities and industries, in order to get more charter fees and per capita taxes out of the already too-much sponged out workingmen.

For illustration, several years ago, we organized here a Federal Labor Union, the members of which would have a right to work on board the vessels when in port as well as on the wharves. Hundreds of men joined, I being one of them. Initiation fee was from \$2.50 to \$5. the present fee. About sixteen months ago a small minority, finding the competition getting too strong in the longshore work, on account of Letter pay, pulled out from the Federal Labor Union and applied for a charter from the International Longshore Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

After getting enough members to successfully establish itself, they raised the initiation to \$10, as a protection to their monopoly on longshore work.

For many months there was almost a continuous wrangle between the Federal Labor Union and their brothers, the Longshore Workers, about the jurisdiction over the work on board the vessels, until the Sailors' Union stepped in and called upon every sailor to desert the Longshore Workers' Union under penalty of being expelled from the Sailors' Union; and also instructed every sailor on board the vessels to refuse to work with members of the International Longshore Workers' Union. Here was one labor organization fighting another one, all affiliated with the great American Federation of Labor.

It is needless to say that the Longshore Workers' was defeated by the Sailors' Union, with the aid of the Federal Labor Union, in San Pedro; while in other places on the coast the fight is still going on between the Sailors' Union and the International Longshore Workers' Union.

Workingmen, is it not about time for you to drop such a scabby organization whose only object is to get per capita taxes and charter fees out of you, and join the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, or do all you can to organize one, where none is in existence, so that we may put an end to such disgraceful happenings as the one just happened in San Pedro, which is only a link in the long chain of corruption holding the American Federation of Labor together?

Workingmen of San Pedro, attend our meetings, which are held every Wednesday, 7:30 p. m., at Sweenford's Hall, on Fourth street, and subscribe for the Weekly People. Our fight is yours.

Alex. Muhlbarg.

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN

(Continued from page 4.)

fore the labor-splitting manoeuvres of the Gompers element. Your posture of indifference resolves itself into fear to expose their malfeasances apprehension to fight them!

B. J. makes an appealing gesture. U. S.—Don't deny it! you fear to fight them! Why the fear? Lest the anathema of "Union Wrecker!" be hurled at your head. And what is the effect of that? Its effect is to cultivate a popular veneration for the word "Union" as a thing too sacred to be pried into. And that's just what the Gompers element wants, and what the National Civic Federation is after.

B. J.—They? U. S.—Yes, they. A usurper needs the breathwork of mystification, with its resultant laming of the popular arm through reverential awe. The Social

Revolution is irreverent—not the irreverence of the feather brained, but the irreverence of the stalwart—

B. J.—Did we—

U. S.—Take the recent instances of Corrigan in his Typographical Union, of Valentine Wagner with his Brewers Union, of Berry with his Boot and Shoe Workers Union. The conduct of the Gompers officers toward these men was an outrage against conscience and the Rights of man. You and yours bent low. You allowed freedom of thought and free speech to be violated by the officers; you condemned by your obsequiousness the hedge of sacredness which the officers sought to raise around their own heads. The Socialist Labor Party tore down the hedge, and fought the mystifiers to a successful end. Every time an officer or an organization of Labor sins against any of the principles that make for solidarity, an additional rift is made in the unification of Labor. Every time a Socialist condemns the sin by silence or by echoing the cry of "Union Wreckers" against those who raise their voice against the crime, you water the roots of Union Superstition. Now, then, the Trust magnates will avail themselves of the opportunity. As the National Civic Federation is now trying, these magnates will encourage such caricatures of Unionism as the Gompers concern; they will entrench themselves behind them; they will avail themselves of the superstitious reverence for the mere word "Union"; and they will dare you to lift an impious hand against the sacrosanct affair. And there you are!

B. J. looks crushed.

U. S.—The Trades Union is an essential part of the Socialist Movement. That Socialist Movement that neglects the Trades Union Question may flare up, but it will as speedily flare down again. The Socialist Movement that handles the Trades Union Question and that, accordingly, wages relentless war against the miscreants who take up the mask of Unionism behind which to serve the cause of capitalism, may struggle long; but it will not be in a hole with the enemy's guns playing upon it. It will stand on the eminence, the foe below under its plunging fire.

MRS. McCULLOCH.

Roanoke, Va., April 15.—At a regular meeting of Section Roanoke, held on the above date, the following resolution was ordered to be sent to Comrade McCulloch, Manchester, Va., and a copy also sent for insertion in the Daily and Weekly People.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas, It has come to our knowledge that death has stepped in and carried off from your midst the one you all loved so truly; and

Whereas, Our Section, while recognizing in you a good and true comrade in the fight against a system, the very nature of which produces the causes which keep our class in perpetual sorrow for the loss of our martyred loved ones, we also look up to you with filial love as our economic father and founder; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the comrades of Section Roanoke, Va., extend to you all their most sincere and profound sympathy in this your hour of greatest sorrow at the loss of your noble and dearly beloved mother. May the thought of her dutiful and energetic life spur you on to even greater work for the cause we all love so dearly.

H. D. McTier, Org.

DETROIT CAPMAKERS' STRIKE.

Cutters Ignore Telegram from National Executive Officers and Remain at Work.

(Special Correspondence.)

Detroit, Mich., May 1.—Acting in accordance with the decision of the Executive Board of the Cap Makers' Union, none of the operators and blockers reported for work this morning at the Detroit Cap Company. The cutters did. The cutters' local received a telegram from the National Executive Board in New York, as follows: "Co-operate with locals 4 and 37. If not charter will be withdrawn." Upon the receipt of this telegram the cutters called a special meeting and decided as there was no specific charge against them, to ignore the telegram.

At a special meeting of the Cutters' Local 36, a committee from Local 4, (operators) asked the cutters to co-operate with them, to which the cutters agreed, by electing a committee to act in conjunction with similar committees from other committees, in the efforts to settle the strike.

The Detroit Cap Company gave out a statement to-day, in which it asserts that the main issue is "piece work" or "week work," all other demands will not stand in the way of a settlement.

B. J.—They? U. S.—Yes, they. A usurper needs the breathwork of mystification, with its resultant laming of the popular arm through reverential awe. The Social

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

NOTES

Five hundred and fifty-two subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, May 6, the week including "Red Letter Day." Viewed as a celebration, this showing was not as great as desired. But when it is recalled that over five hundred new Weekly People subscribers have been secured and that 53 good revolutionary books have been sent out as a result, the educational achievements of "Red Letter Day" make it a bright, substantial success. At some future time we will have another "Red Letter Day" and preparations will be made for still better results.

Comrade McGarrigle of Manchester, N. H., assisted by another comrade, secured seventeen. The Illinois State Committee has engaged Charles Pierson to canvas for the Weekly People in Illinois. He sends in a list of 71 for his first two weeks' work; he also secured some for the German and Swedish organs, and sold a considerable quantity of pamphlets.

Others sending in five or more subs are as follows:

Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., 15; J. T. L. Remley, Indianapolis, Ind., 12; James Devlin, New Bedford, Mass., 11; John Farrell, Lowell, Mass., 10; Wm. Sullivan, Watervliet, N. Y., 10; Section London, Ont., 10; Frank Bohn, San Pedro, Cal., 9; Ben Hilbert, Hamilton, O., 8; L. C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal., 7; C. H. Chabot, Everett, Mass., 7; P. Friesema, Jr., Detroit, Mich., 7; H. T. Juergens, Canton, O., 6; James McGarvey, Newburg, N. Y., 6; R. H. Skeggs, Grand Junction, Colo., 6; E. A. Battell, Ogden, Utah, 6; Frank Bohmback, Boston, Mass., 6; F. Brune, Brooklyn, N. Y., 5; Gus H. Wirth, Boston, Mass., 5; F. Whitaker, Detroit, Mich., 5; J. A. Morhart, Jersey City, N. J., 5; A. Ruttstein, Yonkers, N. Y., 5; I. Goldman, Hackensack, N. J., 5; James Shields, Toronto, Ont., 5; E. M. Dawes, Montrose, Colo., 5; J. J. Ernst, St. Louis, Mo., 5.

Comrade J. C. Ross of Boston, Mass., when sending in his Red Letter Day subs did not use the printed blank form in the paper. He writes: "You might as well ask an old Presbyterian parson to tear a leaf out of his Bible as ask me to tear that printed form out of my paper."

Comrade Eber Forbes, now living in Yonkers, N. Y., renews his subscription to the Weekly People for ten years, and sends \$5 to pay for same.

Since the last report \$22.85 has been received on the three-months fund and \$32.40 has been used up. A great many yearly and half-yearly subs should be gotten from the three months' subscribers.

Let the good work that has been started on Red Letter Day be kept up. It has demonstrated what can be done when all work with animation and determination.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

The orders during the week were mostly for leaflets.

Providence, R. I., took 1000 "Industrial Unionism," and the Cleveland Labor News Agency bought 50 "What Means This Strike?" and 2000 "Industrial Unionism." There were orders for several thousand more "Industrial Unionism" which could not be filled until next week, as the edition has run out. We will print a large supply during the week and all of the orders will be filled.

Tacoma, Wash., bought 2000 leaflets; Indianapolis, Ind., 1000 assorted; and Comrade Francis of Tualatin, Wash., \$2 worth. Section Kalamazoo bought \$5.50 worth of assorted literature. Comrade Robinson of Perry, Okla., \$2.60 worth; and Comrade Dillon of Indiana took \$1.55 worth of books. Philadelphia, Pa., bought \$1.71 worth of books and pamphlets. Comrade Moore of Wilmerding, Pa., bought \$1 worth of literature. Milwaukee, Wis., ordered German literature to the amount of \$5.25.

All sections should take notice that the new catalogues are